GOTHS & FINNS

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HISTORY AS THE PRESENT

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HISTORY AS THE *PRESENT*
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in the third and fourth centuries

Picture part by E. Trauhriann-Nehring

The Gothic empire of Erman ar ich and his predecessors was the first Germanic empire to be founded in the East. At least it was the first to deserve this name One of the great historical tasks of Germanism is thus heralded. Especially today, the deed of the Gothic people can claim interest. By illustrating its scope with a few examples, a section of the history of antiquity and the Germanic migration period that has not received sufficient attention is brought into sharper focus.

The reader of the first volume of the "Crisis of the Ancient World" (1943), especially its chapter on the Goths, will realize that this consideration, with its seemingly remote title, has grown logically out of the premises given there G. Baesecke, H. H. Schae* der and J. Weisweiler have provided powerful help in the linguistic field, R. Delbrueck in the archaeological. We would like to take this opportunity to thank them.

1.

The starting point is a passage from the Finnish national epic. In the sixth rune of Kalewala, it tells how Wa3 ina3 mo3 inen "prepared for departure".

After the grimly cold region, Pohjola, the never-bright"[1])

ru3 stet. He swings himself on his horse'), which is not without precedent in the Kalewala, but is comparatively rare. After all, the horse appears there not only as a mount*), but also as a sire's steed*). Its use as a sledge horse is also attested[4]. Like Lemminka3 inen, one could a war campaign on a horse-drawn sledge'). There is also a variant of the "war roo3 ". the "feud "[7]. The two classical uses of the horse in war - the older one in front of the chariot, the younger one of the ridden animal[4]) - are thus also found in the Finnish epic. The only difference is that the chariot is replaced by the sledge, which is better suited to the climatic conditions. Even today, the of northern Urai still use the sledge in summer, which completely replaces the chariot Magyar, szekdr, dial. *szeker* "chariot", a loanword from Aitindian, corresponds Surgut-East Yak mer. which does not mean "chariot" but "sledge"').

Wa3 ina3 mO! inen's horse is killed with an arrow by Jouk aha inen, the "magren Lappenju3 ngling"). Two shots miss the target[11]:

"Finally he shot the third.

The third arrow went straight into the spleen of the blue elk, hit the old Wa3 ina3 mo3 inen horse with a straw-colored ..." Wa3 ina3 mo3 inen f&3 llt down"):

"From the blue Elen Ru3 cken
From the tendriled steed ."

There can no doubt: the horse is referred to as "blue Elen". The repetition shows that it is

is one of the fixed that are just as much a part of Finnish epic as of Homeric, Germanic or Indian epic. But what is meant by the epithet? The equation of two animals also recurs elsewhere - under the constraint of "parallelism"). But if moose and reindeer coincide**), it is because they are zoologically closer than horse and moose. In Wogul, *väsl, vösi* means both "racing animal calf" and "elk calf "*). However, in contrast to the designation of Wa3 ina3 mo3 inen's horse as a "blue Elen" fails any interpretation due to zoological relationship.

A find from the last few decades comes to the rescue here. In 1929, M. P. Griaznow excavated the kurgan of a nomadic prince in the Altai, near Pazyryk on the Yan Ulaghan River, which brought back a previously unknown type of horse mask**). On the north side of the wooden burial chamber lay the bodies of ten horses that had been placed in the grave with the deceased*'). The frozen ground had resulted in an excellent state of preservation, not only of the animal bodies but also of the grave goods. Two horses wore masks made of leather. felt, fur and gold leaf[1)*]). One of them was equipped with natural-sized antlers. The horse was therefore masked as a cervid (Fig. 1).

The finder believed to recognize a reindeer mask in this piece[1)*]), and research has followed him. Hardly with good reason. It lacks the antlers' characteristic structure of thick, round bars and narrow, sharp rungs; it also lacks the frequent forward bend of the ascending antlers. Certainly, the downward-pointing rungs above the forehead are encountered in the reindeer. But these "eyes" or "fighting sprouts" also occur in the elk"). The shovels are also characteristic of the elk; they are missing in the reindeer. to corresponding formations in the reindeer on the upper Yenisei, to which one at best refer"), are also of a different kind. The shovels on the mask are comparatively narrow and end in long spikes. So it was not the shovel elk that was meant, but the pole elk or its frequent hybridization with the shovel elk").

This gives rise to a first relationship to the Kalewala passage discussed at the beginning. There a horse that is described as an elk; here one that was masked as an elk. Apparently both sides are based similar ideas.

The interpretation of the mask as a reindeer was recommended for historical reasons. The theory of a temporal succession of fenced reindeer and fenced horse among the nomads, especially those of the Altai region, was advocated by respected researchers. It was in the alleged reindeer mask of Pazyryk"). In the cult, which tends to preserve A! ltestes, the early stage would therefore have been preserved. In such a way that the horse was as a racing animal, that it was re*interpreted and re*interpreted in the same way through its mask'*).

But in addition to the sequence of reindeer and horse, there is also a sequence of elk and horse. Not only the reindeer, but also the yak and elk were ridden by the inner-Asian herdsmen'[5)]. As late as the 17th century, the riding of elk was strictly forbidden by Russian governors "because Yakut raiders and thieves, pursued by Cossacks, on these mounts into impassable swamps, where the pursuers on horseback could not catch them "*[1)].

Riding the elk is also found among the Vandals. Elk-riding Dioscuri preceded those on horseback"). The sequence of elk and horse can also explain the drawn-on part of Kalewala and the horse mask of Pazyryk. The Finnish epic and the Alta! burial rite have preserved traces of the fact that the horse once replaced the elk as a mount. The mask and the epic epithet given to Wa3 ina3 mo3 inen's horse reflect the same historical change.

When did it happen? - First of all, it is clear that the development of Su3 den has gone northwards. In the third rune of Kalewala") it says:

"With the racehorse plows the north, With the mother horse the south."

The horse must have replaced the elk in the same sequence. The grave at Pazyryk could be used as a date.

give a terminus post quem. Unfortunately, however, it is undated and cannot be dated with our means for the time being. According to a Chinese lacquer bowl found there, the Shib grave in the central Altai dates to shortly before the turn of the millennium"). However, this only provides an approximate clue for Pazyryk: there remains a span of perhaps centuries*®).

The chronology of Kalewala or parts of it has always been a dubious thing. The hope of having grasped an old layer in the present case - even if only in an epic epithet - seems to have vanished again as soon as it appears. At least one clue remains. The horses sacrificed in Pazyryk do not go

- The horse's origins can be traced back to the Przewalskian horse, as in Central and East Asia, but to Iranian breeding"). It is also true that the elk was displaced by the horse from the inner-Asian equestrian herdsmen and that the Iranian equestrian tribes had a lasting influence on the breeding of the horse").

The Finnish equivalent is found. B. Munka3 csi") has derived the word for "stallion" - Finnish *orih, orhh* lapp, *orries;* syrja3 n.-wotjak. *ui}* tscherem *ozo, oza* - from the equivalent osset. urs, vurs. It should be noted that the Finnish tribes did not have any noteworthy horse breeding in early times"). It is not necessary to go so far as to say that they first learned about the horse from the Iranians. But if they the stallion by an Ossetian loanword, it must have acquired a special, hitherto non-existent meaning through Iranian mediation.

Today's Ossetians are the descendants of the Alans"). These belonged to the Iranian and Central Asian tribes who knew the heavily armored cavalry, the later cataphracts and clibanarians. In addition to the Alans, the Saka and Huns, Parthians and Sarmatians should be mentioned here"). From the Huns, the Chinese adopted the heavy cavalry weapon"), from the Alans the Goths***), from the Parthians the Sasanians"). In the course of the 3rd century AD it also found its way into the army"). The innovation of the

The consequence of this tactic was that the procurement of a type of horse became urgent[(2) (*) (4)']). Only a strong breed and only a stallion was able to carry the weight of the horse's armor. On the Iranian rock reliefs and the sgraffiti of Dura one encounters the heavy war stallions of Parthian-Sasanian origin. For their sake, Han China fought its own wars in Central Asia[49)]. Alanian horse

breeding was also highly developed[43] . The emperor Hadrian gave his favorite Alanian horse, the Bo* rysthenes Alanus Caesareus Veredus, with which he "flew" over the hills of Tuscany, his own inscription[44] . Not only the Finnish word for the stallion, but also the Magyar word seems to go back to an Alao-Assianic [word(43)] .

Among the Baltic Finns and Lapps, the Cheremisses and the Permian , we saw that the stallion had an ancient name. This could mean that there, as with the Goths, the heavily armored cavalry had been taken over from the Iranian equestrian people of South Russia".

2.

On his aforementioned war journey, Lemmin** ka3 inen wears . It is described as a "shirt of iron"[44] , i.e. as ring armor or chain mail. It appears as a heavy that cannot be taken off without help[47] . The chain mail was an invention of Iranian origin[44] , a component of heavy cavalry . The bow and battle axe, which are mentioned next to it, could point in the same direction[49]).

In the songs of the Ostyaks, we encounter a similar opening.

"He pulls out a white shell similar to God's snow.

He pulls out a white armor similar to snow from the sky," it bites once[96] . The comparison with snow refers to the glow of the metal, presumably the of iron. From the

The term "armor-piercing arrow" is used elsewhere[31] . The scale armor was also of Iranian origin"). The fact that the bow is described in the same songs as

Composite sheet[(5)'*]), the origin of the armor "l- Not only the name of the stallion, but also that of the armor shirt

- wogul. /axo3 r; ostjak. *lager, tägar, tä/.r* - has B. Munka3 csi") to the

Alanic-Ossetian. Just as the word fu3 r the stallion goes back to the East and West Finnish , so osset. *zgar, zgär* goes back to the Ugric tribes. From a unified center, both. Word and thing, came to the Ugrofins. The transformation of the Old World, which meant the prevalence of the heavy cavalry weapon and a tactic based on it, had an impact even on the most distant frontiers. Not only did it affect the area between the Black Sea and the Huangho, between Gibraltar and the Northwest Indies - it also reached the interior of European Russia as far north as the [north(55)] .

Once again, the question timing arises. Analogies are of little help. Although the first appearance of the heavy cavalry weapon in China"), in Rome and among the Goths back to the 3rd century A., among the Central Asian and Iranian tribes it goes much further"). Or another example: the lamellar armor. It was possibly already in use in the Tachaimenid period')"). It then appeared in the Sasanian armies in the early 3rd century AD[55] . But it was not until the 5th century that it was brought to the Germanic tribes by the Avars[(5)®]). One must therefore take a different path.

First of all, a general . The takeover of Alanian-Ossetian fiefdoms by the Ugrofins could only take place under certain conditions. Immediate proximity or at least close trade relations offered the most favorable opportunity. How this may have been the with the West Finns remains to be seen. But the Permian and Obugrian tribes must have been located immediately north of the Alans when they a the Ossetian fiefdoms[51] .

While the seats of the Ugrofins at that time did not extend beyond the Urai, the Alanian territory stretched far to the east: as far as the Aral Sea"), probably even as far as

the upper Yenisei. Rock carvings®[(3)(4)]) were found here on Mount Sulek and near Tascheba3 , in the Minusinsk Basin, which have perhaps rightly been attributed to the Alans®[4)] . Among other depictions, there are also those armored horsemen®®) whose meaning has been revealed to us. They wear the long "caftan- cuirass"-') or armored shirts®*) of various kinds; their horses rush forward in the "(recumbent gallop"®*) characteristic of Iranian-Central Asian art (figs. 2-3).

This does not tell us when the connection between the Alans and the Obugrian began. However, it is possible to make a statement about the end of this state of affairs. For this connection was broken at the moment when the Huns broke in from the east and pushed themselves between the Alans and the later Obugrians. The Alanian-Ossetian loanword for chain mail must been adopted before the year 375 ").

This is confirmed the finds in the ground. Alongside the "word" comes the "thing". During the excavations near the village of Gainy (Kosa district, Komipermyak district), the remains of chain mail discovered in graves from the 3rd-4th century"), along with other weapons"). They form the archa3 ological equivalent of the adoption of the corresponding Alanian-Ossetian loanword. Again we come to the time before the Hunnenslurm.

The Iranian tank and the heavy warhorse of the same origin together we saw (p. 12 f.). Both were an expression of the same military . With the temporal determination of the adoption of the tank, that of the Iranian stallion would then be given.

3.

At first glance, the results so far appear to be consistent. And yet reservations remain. Chain mail and stallion do indeed belong together factually; they also belong together linguistically, insofar as one is referred to the Alanic-Ossetian as a starting point. They do not, however, insofar as the name of the chain mail is used only by the Ugric and that of the stallion only by the Finnic tribes.

was taken over. In addition, the intrusion of an Alanic-Ossetian word met with serious reservations among the West Finns. In contrast to the Uranian loanword layer, which is spread over the entire Finno-Ugric language area, "the loanwords from more recent Iranian language stages are actually only to be found in the Ugric and Permian languages, very rarely in Cheremisian and Mordvinian, almost not at all in Finnish and Lappish"'.) This represents a fundamental shift. "The linguistic connection between the Permian and Ugric on the one hand and the Baltic Finns and Lapps on the other must have already been broken when the Alans influenced the former"[4]". Consequently, the assertion arose that Finnish *orih, orhi,* Lappish *orries* "stallion" need by no means go back to an Alanian-Ossetian model"').

However decisively the assertion appeared in this as in other cases under consideration, it did not succeed in eliminating all opposing evidence. In the case of Finnish *myrkky,* Lapp *mirkko* "poison" to Ossetian *marg* "poison"'[4]), both sound form and meaning speak against a separation[44] . In addition, are similar inconsistencies in the Germanic loanwords.

The period of Finnish borrowings from Urgennian is thought to be around the turn of the century or shortly before"). While the other Lithuanian loanwords were still partly adopted from the Mordvinians, the connection between western and eastern Finns had already been severed by the time the Proto-Germanic loanwords were adopted. None of the many Proto-Germanic of Baltic Finnic can be found in Mordvinian"). And yet there are traces of Germanic influence in the language of the Mordvinians and Cheremisses"). However, they have nothing to do with the Proto-Germanic borrowings of the Finns and Lapps, but traced back to the rule of the Gothic king Ermanaric over Eastern Europe in
4th century"').

Asimilar explanation could be attempted for the Alanian-Ossetian borrowings of the Baltic Sea Finns.

We saw that around the turn of the century the Baltic Finns and Mordvinians, and thus the western and eastern Finnish tribes, were finally separated. At the same time, the Proto-Germanic penetrated into Finnish and Lappish. This suggests that the two processes coincided not only in terms of time but also in terms of subject matter. The emigration of the Goths from their Scandinavian homeland, their settlement at the mouth the Vistula, their advance first eastwards beyond the Passar River to Samland and Natangen®') - and then to the southeast could have separated the western and eastern Finns"). Further: as long as the Goths on their great migration to the coast of the Black Sea lay like a barrier between the Baltic Finns and the Su3 drussian Alans, no Alanian-Ossetian word could penetrate to them. But the Goths not only divided: they also . From the moment they united with the Alans to establish their Russian empire, there was the that under its protection and its expansion of power u3 ber Mittelund Ostrußland su3 drussisch-iranische, thus also alanische Kulturgu3 ter reached the Baltic Sea coast together with the corresponding names. And that they were absorbed not only by the Goths who remained there, but also by the neighboring Finns. The path is marked by the Gothic spearhead of Kowel (Fig. 8), which, in addition to its runic inscription, has ornaments of Bosporan origin. They must have migrated northwest from the Gothic dominion on the Black Sea").

The Gothic empire, which ended the period of migration (when and in what sense remains to seen), had thus culturally and commercially a considerable area of Russia. Within this sphere of power, cultural goods from the South Russian area were transported to the north and northwest. The distribution of Russian coins in the 2nd and early 3rd centuries provides a vivid picture.) Their scattered area extends from Gotland, the Swedish and Norwegian mainland in the north[8] *) via East Prussia, Silesia, Poland and southwest Russia down to the Vltava and the eastern border of Roman Dacia[88] . But these borders were

are limited to southwestern and western Russia. Moreover, they break off with Caracalla"), and thus nothing about the later empire of the Goths. They can also only be used as an analogy for the northern migration of South Russian-Iranian cultural assets. This is where another group of thinkers steps in.

The sites the "Charin" culture are located within the Permian governorate: first and foremost Charina itself, then Gainy"") and Katschka"), about 25 km west of Penn on the Kama*). They are characterized by imported pieces of Su3 drussian-Bosporan origin ("Sannatic-Gothic objects"). Similar imported goods can be found in the Ryazan region on the Desna[8] "), the Oka"') and in the Volga-Kama region"), but the Kharin culture led an independent existence. The area around the middle Volga together with its tributaries Oka and Kama had already formed a closed cultural area during the Bronze Age and the early Iron Age"). A trade route from the Baltic seats of the Goths to the upper Dnieper and the middle Oka"). The
The "Sarmatian-Gothic" ware that appears within the Charin culture, however, took a different route. It came to the Permian region via the Orenburg area, i.e. through the steppe region of the Urals"). Accordingly, the Trans-Uralian finds are close to the Permian finds"). The treasure from Bryukhanova, again interspersed with pieces of "Sarmatian-Gothic" origin, shows how far the Su3 drussian products also reached the north-east").

The main bulk of what was imported from the South consisted of the typical inventory of an equestrian people. First of all, there are the weapons: in addition to the chain mail already mentioned (p. 13 f. above), the long slashing swords and the triangular iron arrowheads. Then gold jewelry decorated with filigree, encrusted colored stones and granulation, finally the components of the horse harness, as well as metal belt tongues, belt and boot buckles"). All objects date from the 3rd-4th century; nothing goes back beyond the beginning of the 5th century"). A. V. Schmidt, who was the first to treat this find, already drew the following conclusion from it

The correct conclusion: the import came from the Gothic Empire, which to an end in the 4th century as a result of the Hun invasion'[80]
.

Of course, it need not only have been Goths who the importing tribes to the Oka and Kama. Inhabitants of the Su3 drussian Greek cities also come into consideration: Greek-Sarmatian hybrids, as they were at home there and corresponded to the character of

Bosporan culture*[01] . Finally, the Sarmatians, or more correctly: their leading part[10] '), the Alans, must be mentioned. They had already subjugated the other nomadic tribes at that time[lM] . And the Alan-Ossetian feudal words we encountered among the Ugrofins point to them.

It has already been noted (p. 14 above) that the Alanian-Ossetian origin of the Vogul and Ostyak word for chain mail was consistent with the import pieces coming from South Russia. But the correspondence between weapons and objects seems to even further. Swords were also found among the imported of the Charin culture (p. 18 above). And again it is evident that the Vogul word for the sword *(sirej, sin)* is of Alanian-Ossetian origin (osset. *ciryag)*"). Together, both the sought-after goods and the corresponding designations came from the Alanian-Gothic core area to the Oka and Kama. They made their to the Kama through the steppe region between the Volga and the Urals[05] , while the route to the Oka led through the of central Russia[100] . Conversely, from the Kama, in exchange for the aforementioned import , the sought-after furs reached South[107] . Theodoric the Great is still depicted with the fur cap on the gold medallion of Senigallia[(1) ®*]) (fig. 4). And again the fiefdoms provide the confirmation. Syrian *vnrd* "otter" goes back to osset. *urd, urdä*[(10)*]). One recognizes the demand for the precious otter skins on the part of the Alans.

The Gothic Empire was therefore a powerful facilitator of economic and cultural exchange[110] . But economic power went hand in hand with the expansion of political power. Under the names of the peoples who became

Ermanaricb's empire[(11) *], there are some that easily point to present-day Ossetia*"); accordingly, Gothic fibulae have been found in the tombs of Daghestan[(11)"®]). But Mordens and *Merens,* Mordwinen[119]) and Tscheremissen "*) are also mentioned, both of which are consistent with the previous findings. From the predecessors of the Ossetians, the Alans, the import went to the eastern Fyn ; from there the fur trade led back to the Gothic-Alanian . Even today, Cheremisses are still located in the Permian Governorate, the home of the "Khartoum culture "*).

This confirms the date to which the Alanian-Ossetian in the Finno-Ugric languages had already led. The penetration of the cultural forms of a Su3russian-Sarmatian equestrian people, the Alans, into the Finnish territories must have before the epochal year 3?5. And it must have taken place under the protective rule of the great Golen Empire.

But not only the end of that invasion, but also its beginning now be determined. The Goths were already in southern Russia in the second half of the 2nd century AD "*). And yet, as the finds show, exports to the north only began at the end of the 3rd century. This can be explained by remembering that economic and political expansion are inseparable. From the first Gothic , which began with Caracalla"[7] , the warlike efforts of the people were directed against the Empire. But the Gothic victories of the great Illyrian soldier emperors, above all Claudias and Aurelian, doomed the to failure for the time being, despite the clearing of the Dacian outpost. To characterize the magnitude of Aurelian's victory, the historian Am* mianus Marcellinus says that the Germanic enemy remained immobile for over a hundred years - *'siluerunt immobiles*[(1) *]).

In reality, the activity of the Goths shifted in a different direction. If at the same time as their attacks against the imperial border remained unsuccessful, the invasion sU! d

Russian products in central and eastern Russia, this presupposes that the military and political expansion took the same direction. It is no longer possible to in detail when the took place and in which stages the advance was "'). But under Ermanaric we have the Great Gothic Empire, which included Mordvinia and Cheremisia.

This explains the temporal stratification of imports. It also explains their nature. It was the inventory of an equestrian people (p. 18 above), it was Alanian-Ossetian fiefdoms and the heavy equestrian armor we encountered. The Goths had already begun to the new way of fighting from the Sarmatians and Alans in the 3rd century; even then the horsemen became the decisive weapon in battle'*[0] . But the full transformation and impact of the tactical change must have come with the conquest of the central and eastern Russian empire. Such an empire could not won and maintained with foot troops, but only with fast and far-reaching cavalry armies. It was at this time that the cavalry, recruited primarily from the Alans and Ostrogoths[1], was formed, and the Romans became acquainted with its formidable power at the Battle of Adrianople in 378.

The Goths built up their inner-Russian empire using the tactics adopted by the Iranian equestrian peoples of South Russia. Consequently, when the economic penetration of the vast area began in the wake of the foundation of the empire, the products of the mixed Gothic-Alanian culture also had to find their way into the subjugated and neighboring , including the Finnish and Ugric tribes. This was not just a matter of equestrian costume and equestrian weapons. Behind all this was a new lordly and chivalrous lifestyle Gothic-Albanian practice. Just as it was characteristic of the Baltic Finns that they borrowed the word for "" from the Germanic languages'), so it was for the Permian languages that they took corresponding terms from Alanic-Ossetian'"). The word the "lord" or "ruler": wotjak. ӓksej, syrja3 n. *öksi* goes, like awest. y.a3 aya "lord"

suggests an Iranian dialect. The vowel proposal before the initial consonant group, which distinguishes the East Finnish forms from the Aweatian forms, shows that the Alanian-Ossetian dialect was the starting point. The proposal, which is characteristic of this dialect[(1)"]), recurs in magyar. osszony, ӓster *achszin, achazon „domlna, era, mutier",* where the model (Old Lran.
-xa3 ӧhaj in ost* ossetian axs/n, ӓksin "mistress, housewife" is preserved[(1) "]).

The adoption of this new ideal of mastery of Iranian origin is reflected not only in the equestrian fighting style but also in the costume. As there, the Goths also went ahead here. They borrowed their later royal costume from the Iranians; then the Finnish tribes followed them. At the risk of having repeat what has been said elsewhere[(1) "], the evidence for the Iranian origin of the Gothic royal regalia is presented here once again in a partially expanded and supplemented form. It is for understanding what follows.

4.

The royal costume of the Ostrogoths has survived ӧnthe time of Theo* dahad and his successors in a series of memorials (figs. 5-7). Their main garments were a cloak with a chiton worn underneath and the characteristic cap or crown. All the pieces are as different as from the spa3 tro3 mish imperial ottoman"[1] .

The chiton has a final border at the neckline that a vertical central border. This in itself distinguishes it from contemporary ro3 mish , where the vertical borders run on both sides, right and left, not in the middle[1] *"). In contrast, the central border appears in the partei[110] }, sas an fa3 lschen"'1) and the closely related palmyreni see[1] ") costume (figs. 16, 20). Because of their proximity to the Goths, ossuaries from Olbia[1] ") must be mentioned in particular* They depict a partisan king with his court. There, too, the chiton is distinguished by a central border, occasionally also by a border running in the same place.

vertical seam[184] : it was apparently covered by the border in the other cases. Donor portraits from Kucha in East Turkestan[188]) still show this chiton, the spread of which, it seems, coincided with that of the Iranian people.

The coat points in the same direction. It covers the shoulders but leaves the chest free. The sleeves of the Theodahad (fig. 6) show that it was decorated with sleeves"[4] . The shoulder seam here is with a beaded border. On the right shoulder - only it is fully visible - there is a similarly beaded at the lower end, which marks the base of the sleeves. Similar borders and transverse shoulder pieces are known from the donor figurines from Kumtura in East Turkestan"') or from the small terracottas from Afrasijab[18] *), which date from the pre-Islamic period of Bocharas"'} (fig. 9}. Here the cut of the mantle is also the same as on the Ostrogothic .

AU this indicates Iranian origin from the outset. The beaded borders also adorn the Sasanian royal regalia[1**1] . The sleeve coat, which the chest bare, is nothing other than the Persian kandys[141] . Fastened to the shoulders with a clasp[1] "), it flutters in the wind when moved violently, as can be seen on Alexander's sarcophagus. The kandys had to be worn in the presence of the ruler[1] "). Among the nobles and the king himself it was dyed purple[114] . The cloak that was put on the Ostrogothic kings at their elevation was also a purple robe[14] *).

Like the chiton, the kandys can also be traced in South Russia. It was usually made of felts and was then called sisyma"'). In the depictions it appears as a characteristic component of the Scythian costume[1] "), then of the northern* peoples in general[141] . This cloak was usually , similar to that of the Ostrogothic kingsomate, leaving the chest bare"'); it shows the borders on the edges and the seam on the shoulder as well as the transverse shoulder piece[1] "). Both were also characteristic of the Parthian Ko3 nigsomat[181] . The depiction of the seated king on one of the leg plates from Olbia[1] ") confirms this : the border also recurs there, only the shoulder cannot be recognized on this sleeve coat.

The wall paintings of the synagogue of Dura-Europos (245 to around 256)[IM] provide confirmation of this. Here the Iranian royal costume is depicted several times. It is worn by Saul*[5] *), David*[55] , Mordecai*[5] *), but also by Ahasuerus*[57]) and the Pharaoh[158] ; perhaps by Moses in the depiction of his apotheosis*[5] *), the same components recur everywhere: the chiton (tunic) with the border at the neck and the wide, vertically running central strip; then the sleeve coat, which remains open over the chest and whose front are decorated with wide, embroidered borders. Only the proper shoulder are missing. Otherwise, it is perfect harmony with the Ostrogothic Ko3 nigsomat and its Iranian models.

The headgear remains. On the coins (fig. 6 to 7) it resembles a hemispherical cap. A horizontal band decorated with gemstones forms the lower end; similar bands run from back to back and from ear to ear to meet at right angles at the top of the cap. This point is marked by a spherical, particularly large gemstone.

Attempts have been made to interpret the crown that appears on the coins as a helmet[150] . The Parthian kings wear such a helmet on their coins**'). Cheek flaps or a neck shield leave no doubt about the interpretation. The rows of spherical nail heads running from front to back and sideways from ear to ear on the studs correspond to the borders of the Ostrogothic royal crown. Depictions of clasp helmets'*') and surviving pieces**') show four clasps whose arrangement corresponds to the intersecting braids of the crown. There is also evidence of the sphere on the crown***).

However, our literary reports testify that the Ostrogothic crown was not a helmet. It is described as a pi/os"') or *kamclaukion[1**]*)-*. It was then probably a cap made of felt or woolen fabric. Its decoration consisted of precious stones and phalerae that hung down. The *pilos* could also be worn with the back**[7] . This corresponds to,

that the crown appears on the coins in place of the helmet with the chlamys, i.e. again with the '*').

This eliminates the of interpreting the crown as a helmet. The *pilos* was widespread. For example, among the Dacians and related it was the costume of the nobility, from which the priests and kings were taken"'"). Relations between the Dacian and Gothic cultures existed'[70] . The Gothic priests also wore the *pilos* and were therefore called *pilieati*[17]'). But an adoption of the royal *pilos* long after the fall of the Dacian kingdom is unlikely, and the other components of the Ostrogothic royal costume clearly refer to Iranian models. The Persians also wore the *pilos[11]'*). It was equated with the kyrbasia and the kidaris, but also with the tiara'[7]'). The kidaris appears on the coins of the Achaemenids and Tigranes of Armenia (97-56) as a royal headdress'[7] *); the tiara also served as such. Should the equation of kidaris and tiara with the *pilos* imply that this could also be the insignia of the kings?

An Iranian appears on a sgraffito from Dura (fig. 10), an Aisakid rather than a Sasanid'[7] *). He sits on the throne in full regalia. He wears a crown in the shape of a raised hemisphere. It is neither a helmet, as it lacks cheek flaps and a neck guard, nor a tiara - at least not the usual one with horizontal stripes'[7] *). But tiara and *pilos,* we saw, resembled each other to a large extent"[7] . And this crown has in common with the Ostrogothic *pilos* the hemispherical shape and the crosswise arrangement of the . The gems and pearls are missing, but they may have been added later or omitted due to negligence of the draughtsman.

A hemispherical cap similar to the Ostrogothic *pilos* is worn by the Sasanid Shapur, the elder brother of Ardeshir I, on a sgraffito in Persepolis'[7] *) (fig. 11). The *pilos* also formed the basic component of the Sasanian royal crowns. The later kushans of Sasanian descent also wore crowns of the same shape'[7]'). This component remained here and there, no matter how much ornamentation was used on the individual crowns.

rulers was added. The *pilos* with the crosswise borders on the top and the final lower border appears in Palmyra"") and on a Sasaniana3 gyptian fabric from AntinoB[191]) (fig. 12). It is the badge of the ruler depicted there. The of the *pilos* (red cap, yellow or gold trim) shows that it is by no means a helmet, but a cloth cap with golden broderies. Finally, the stars that the spandrels of the

Ostrogothic *pilos* are also found on the tiaras of Iranian rulers*"). Due to the proximity to the Goths, it should be noted that these stars recur on the Bosporan royal costume"').

The Parthian sub-kings in Edessa, Persis and Elymais also wore *pilos* or tiaras, decorated with cross-shaped beaded borders, stars and crescent moons. The prayers of Subcharakian origin complete the picture"').

A final confirmation is provided by the Ostrogothic 's regalia, as depicted by Amalasuntha in the Orestes diptych from the year 530 wearing (fig. 5). Her "Phrygian" cap resembles exactly the headdress that characterizes the Bosporan queens*'®).

The question remains as to how old the Ostrogothic royal costume is and from where it was adopted.

Theoderic does not wear the Ostrogothic regalia on the coins. Whether the fur cap on the gold medallion of Senigallia can be equated with the pilos*'®) remains uncertain; the attested gemstone ornament is missing[97] . If the *pilos* appears for the first time on the Orestes diptych of 530, it was, like the replacement of the imperial couple by the Germanic kings, the result of the national demands that the Gothic party addressed to the Roman-friendly government of Amalasuntha*"). This makes it all the more unlikely that the Ostrogothic royal costume was a recent invention. Rather, everything seems to that they were on an old institution that had been introduced under Theodoric's reign, certainly in connection with his Roman- and emperor-friendly

The fact that this is the case remains to be seen.

There is also evidence of the Visigothic royal costume. If we disregard the depiction of the last Visigoth king io the omajadi see pleasure palace of Kusejr Amra[(1)"]), which is of later date and poorly recorded (fig. 13), only a sapphire with the portrait of Alaricb L or II comes into question[w>]) (fig. 14). As in the Orestes diptych, the *pilos* is missing, but the chiton with vertical central stripes and the cloak with edging and open over the chest is recognizable. As far as the costume is depicted, it therefore coincides with the Ostrogothic one.

This leads to the conclusion the Ostrogoths and Visigoths adopted their royal costume together. This must have happened at a time when both were still united, or at least still in close proximity. In other words, still in Su3 russia and before the invasion of the Huns. And the adoption of Iranian forms was only in the Sarmatian-Alanian or Bosporan areas.

Perhaps the introduction of the Iranian royal regalia should be placed under Ermanaric[(1)"]). Despite this deed, the founder of the Gothic empire left behind a less than favorable image. This is particularly evident in the heroic poetry. It is reasonable to assume that the reign of his empire demanded a harder, more despotic demeanor than the Goths were accustomed to from their kings. The adoption of the Iranian regalia could have linked to these despotic and ostentatious[(1)"]) forms of rule. Inner and outer form would have

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The answer to the question of who the donor was remains more difficult. In principle, both the two equestrian peoples and the Bosporan Confederacy are possible candidates. Given the current state of knowledge, there is much to be said for the latter, above all the coincidence in the head*covering of the queens. On the other hand, the Goths lack the main characteristic of the nomadic "scepter " [XM] . The basics are clear. In the royal costume

of the Goths is the first time that we can grasp the extent to which Iranian influences and forms permeated the region.

5.

Ermanaric, it has been assumed, donned the Iranian regalia for the first time as an expression of his ruling position. It was more than a coincidence that at the same time the emperor Gratian appeared in the west in Iranian costume[(1)"]). Thus in the costume of the Iranians of South Russia and, if not in royal regalia, at least in the dress of a noble and knightly lord.

They are also known from the , initially those of Chinese Turkestan. The frescoes'®[5]) of the caves of Kyzil near Kutscha or of Kumtura show the images of the noble founders in long rows. They wear[1]**) long waist , closed and lined, with flap collars on one or both sides (figs. 18-19). A fitted white shirt is visible beneath them, with a vertical center seam and a strip below the neckline. The headdress[07]) is a hemispherical or conical cap with beaded borders running the lower edge and from front to back over the crown of the .

This costume was of Iranian origin"'). Sasanian silver shells"') show the flap skirt turned up on both sides (fig. 15). This is also found in the East Iranian area. J. Hackin[00]) has identified it on a fresco (fig. 22) and a clay statue (fig. 23) from the 6th-7th century, which were found in Fondukistan, halfway between Kabul and Bamiyan. On the fresco of the "Cave of the Sixteen Sword " in Kyzil (fig. 18), the decorative border surrounding the collar, which is folded to the right, is like a ribbon. "Perhaps," the discoverer of the suspected, "this ribbon was used to close the neckline of the skirt. The ribbon was grasped, around the neck to the left and hooked. This created a stand-up collar above the closed neckline."

Not only the skirt was of Iranian origin. The chiton with a central border can be recognized in the shirt of the donor figures and the *pilos* in the cap. Two characteristic elements of the Iranian royal costume live on in it. The waist skirt, too, will only be a variation of the former cloak, the kandy. The flaps are a new addition, but on the Turfan frescoes one can still recognize an older stage in which the waist skirt was without these , with a simple border (below p. 31 and fig. 27)*'*), otherwise the match is . According to a fresco from the synagogue of Dura**), the kandys also reached down to the knees, and the are repeated on both sides (cf. fig. 19). Perhaps the waist skirt can already be recognized on the sgrafhto from Dura (fig. 10).

The East Turkestan donor images date from the 6th to 7th centuries. Their costume is varied and has been transformed into a ho3 fic, even a dandyish one. But it was the same as that which provided the model for the Gothic royal regalia in the 3rd-3rd centuries. The founders themselves belonged to the Tocharem or Yu3 etschl, an East Iranian equestrian people who bore the name of the Scythians in their own[9]**). According to their language, the Alans were also of East Iranian origin. Both peoples originated from the same

cultural area; they both adopted the Parthlsha-Saanid court costume. The Alanian dress in which Gratian appeared probably did not differ too much from it. And its after-effects were as enormous as its spread.

Firstly, there are the image stones of East and West Prussia[m]), crudely carved statues from the Viking Age (9th-10th century). A relative of these is the image stone from Altenkirchen on Ru3 gen**). While the Prussian effigy stones only show a pointed cap, i.e. the *pilos*, the Ru3 gener has a waist skirt with a distinct flap on the left side (Fig. 17). This is the same flap skirt worn by the Sasanian knights (fig. 15) and the Tocharlian founder figures.

The connection can be drawn even closer. The makers of the East* and West Prussian effigy stones were the old Prassen*[7]; they gave the memorial genre to the Slavs Ru3

passed on. But the type itself goes tan older time""). The models are ultimately to be found among the Iranians of South Russia and the neighboring regions. In South and Middle Russia, in western Siberia and in the Kyrgyz steppe, in western Turkestan and in the Altai, there are a number of similar '®*). In addition to male figures, they also feature female figures, which has earned them the name *kamennyje baby*, "little girl stones". They date from the 9th-10th century back to the Sarmatian-Alanian period. This is shown by the weapons and , as be proven in detail'[10]: on the statue of Batalpaschink and others one recognizes the *pilos* and the kandys with a border on the front and lower edge"). This is also shown by the beard costume. A pointed chin beard appears next to the moustache of Central Asian origin"). Long before the Prussians and Slavs adopted it"), it was a characteristic of the Sarmatian knights, according to the Trajan's column (fig. 21). There is also a special with the Locharian founder figures. The fastening of the boots to the trousers by means of a cord running over the knee is only found on the sculptured stones of South Russia and in the east of Malta").

It has long been observed that the costume of the Iranian equestrian peoples has survived to the present day. The *pilos, which* appears in the frescoes of Kirisch"[8]), resembles the cap of the Ostlu3 rken'*'), which is still in use today. The flap skirt has its continuation in the Polish ulanka'[IT]. Among the Finns, too, especially among Oslo-Finnish , elements of the traditional costume from the Alanian-Gothic period can still be found today.

The wall paintings in the synagogue of Dura-Europos show that the chiton with a neck border and vertical central stripe was also part of the costume of lower-ranking people"). A shirt form that be compared to this Iranian chiton is found among the Mordvinians[(91) ®]. A headdress reminiscent of the *pilos* is found among the Lapps of the 18th century "*). But such a characteristic of clothing as the waist or flap skirt has also survived. And in all the variations found in antiquity.

A comparatively old fresco from the "Hippokampenhohle" of Kyzil"') shows (fig. 27) that the waist skirt also existed without flaps. It was closed in a straight line at the front; the two sides were trimmed with braids at the front and bottom. Here, as already mentioned (p. 29 above), we still have the old Kandys. This simplest form can be found in Setukesia (Pskov province), inhabited by Orthodox Estonians, and among the Cheremisses"') (fig. 25). Sven Hedin found a similar piece from the Han* period (silk a cotton* collar) in a grave on the south bank of the Kum* darja (Lopnor region)"'®}. In addition, in Kyzu3 the collar closed to the left appears, with the right edge with the border overlapping the left (fig. 18), a form also found in Setukesia and among the Cheremisses. In addition to this, the first approaches of collar flaps can be observed, usually on both sides with the skirt closed to the left"[3]) (fig. 24). The closest comparison is the form that appears on the fresco from Fondukistan in Afghanistan (figs. 22-23)"'). A flap formed on the right side is found on the Mordovian *iiletka*. It can be unhooked to the left and then closes at the neck with a small stand-up collar[(9) ']) (fig. 26).

Tscheremissen and Mordwinen, *Merens* and *Mordens,* appear among the peoples who belonged to the Great Gothic Empire of Ermanaricb (p. 20 above). The assumption arises that the waist or flap skirt of Iranian origin was adopted together with the other forms of the same origin. This is confirmed firstly by the fact that all variants of the Iranian recur among the Permian tribes. Then by the fact that the robes with strongly emphasized waists stand out from a long line of others which are of , presumably Turkish-Tatar[(9) ']) origin and do not show this feature'[(9) ']).

This the picture: once again we have come across the Gothic Empire as a bringer and mediator of culture. The cities on the Urals have preserved the traces of this for over a millennium and a half to this day.

6.

Finally, let us to the work that formed the starting point of this review: the Kalewala.

It has already been emphasized that the chronology of this poem is difficult (p. 12 above). At first glance, the Kalewala seemed to be an epic that completely removed from history. "The early contacts of the Finns with the Germanic and Lituslavic , of which the analysis of the language informs us, are unknown to him; The former raids of the Scandinavian Vikings on Finnish soil and of the Finns on Scandinavian soil are not remembered with a word, the events of Novgorod, touched the Finns so closely, the fact of the Swedish conquests, the frequent stormy battles between Swedes and Russians on their native soil and the participation of the Finns in them in favor one or the other party, the old conflicts between the Finns themselves, between Yemen and Karelia, all this has remained without echo in the runic poetry, alien to the epic ideals invented by it, the heroic deeds by it." This was Domenico Comparetti's verdict as late as 1892 in his book "über den Kalewala"[5], and it seemed to to stay that way.

K. Krohn'[6] was the first to object to this view. As with the Germanic tribes, the Finns'[30] oldest epic poetry had historical content. He believed he recognized certain traces that pointed to the Viking Age"'). Finnish runic poetry had begun at that time.

The details need not be discussed here. I myself doubt that the oldest content of the Finnish epic was historical. The mythical is in the foreground from the beginning with impressive and powerful figures. But this much is clear, that the conditions of the Viking Age emerge. But this does not take us to the oldest layer. If the results of the considerations presented here are correct, we have a considerable step backwards. "Blue Elen" as an epithet for the riding horse back to the time when riding, and with it the

The Finns were the first people to use the term in an equestrian context. The epic epithet originates from the 3rd-4th century, the time of the Gothic Empire. The Finnish runic dialect - certainly not in its present form, but certainly in its origins - goes to this period. This into a context.

The Finnish "rune" has a Germanic name"'). It is usually traced back to Germ. *70/10"'). J. Weisweiler, whom I questioned, gave the following information: "As far as finn. *runo* is concerned, the difference in quantity of the sound syllable compared to German. *ru3 no3 stands out. I can't find any other example of German. *ü* in Finnish. But with the conservative vocalism of the other Germanic loanwords in Finnish, one would expect finn.
*ruuno instead of runo, if the word is to be borrowed from German. *ru3 no3 should be borrowed. Or to put another way: if finn. *runo* is not a purely Finno-Ugric word, but a Germanic loanword, one would actually have to look for a German. *runo3. Now there are Old Icelandic compounds that contain a word in their first member that is phonetically more compatible with Finnish *runo* than Old Norse *rün* "rune". It is the name for certain scaldic meters, whose name Snorri gives in the Ha3 ttata) of his Edda: *run-hcnding, run-hendr hdttr* "row rhyme, rhyming meter" (from *runi* m. or runa f. "run, course, row" to *renna* "run"). Since Germanic initial double consonance is simplified in Finnish by the loss of the first consonant (cf. Urgerm.
**hrengaz*> finn. *rengas* "ring"; Old Norse *straumr*> finn. rauma
"sea "; Old Norse *grjöt*> *finn. riutta* "rock, cliff" etc.), another Icelandic word comes into question. The word *Hrun-henda* has survived as the name of a song of praise for the Norwegian king Magnus the Good. The word is identical with the technical expressions *hryn-hendr hdtlr, hryn- henda, hrynjandi hältr* "the rhyming verse, the rhyming rhyme, the rushing meter" or the like, which are attested in Snorri's Ha3 ttatal. It is the verse meter in which, among others, the famous Marienloh "Lilja" by Eysteinn Asgrimsson (d. 1361) is written in Icelandic literature. The Simplicia *runa* and *hrynja, hrun(j)a* as

However, there are no terms for specific meters. But in terms of meaning and sound form, finn. runo seems to me to fit better with these two Old Icelandic words (since it also a technical term in poetry) than with German. *ru3 no3 . Nevertheless, I am by no means by my etymological suggestion. From another point of view, the meaning of German. -ru3 no3 fits better if one thinks of the Finnish "rune" of magical content"'). Incidentally, this comes with the Germanic in sounds and meaning
z. This word also occurs in CelticOne of the most popular Irish folk songs has the rhyme: *Eibhlin a rüin*
'Eilin my darling'. For Old* and Middle Irish ru3 n we find the meanings "secret, intention, plan, resolution, idea, goal, sweetheart'; in addition the derivatives rtinda "mysterious, mystical", ru3 ndotu "mystery", furthermore kymr. rhin "virtue, essence, secret, mystery, charm, enchantment, miracle'; rhin/o "to whisper, to use mystery, to secrete, to charm"; breton. *rin* "mystfere, secret". However, these meanings must first be looked up in their context, as the dictionary books often copy misunderstandings and errors from one another."

H. H. Schaeder further points out to me that there is a ◆o Finnish zuno; Old Norse ru3 n in Finnish *rikaa* "rich": Old Norse *rlkr*. According to this, the view could be maintained.

The main question of interest here is whether a connection with Gothic be established. The *magae mulieres* mentioned by Jordanes[448]) come into consideration*:* the holiu* runnae, which their equivalents in German and Anglo-Saxon"[4)] . The bridge to Finnish runo can, as J. Weisweiler also points out, only be sought in the concept of magic (german, **rünō),* not in that of singing. The first part of the Gothic word has also entered Finnish"[47)] . This would confirm the presumed connection.

The adoption of the runic name does not stand alone. Like it, the beginnings of Finnish poetry itself and Finnish myth are to the same historical event: the early contact with the Germanic tribes"[4)] .

The abundance of Germanic loanwords in Finnish testifies to the lasting effect of this contact. While the Lapps, "who are as poor in their own myth as in poetry"[9)] , remained on a filtered level, the Finns were beyond mere shamanism'[40)] and opened up to a new world.

The Germanic feudal words date to the years around the turn of the century or shortly before'[(40) ˚]). The influence of Germanic poetry, and thus the emergence of Finnish runic song, was dated far later than the Viking Age (8th-11th century)"[41)] . But even the adoption of German. -ru3 no3 must be far older. This agrees with our conclusion that an epic epithet of Kalewala goes back at least to the 3rd-4th century.

It would the most beautiful result of these observations if it were confirmed that the foundation of the Goths' empire also had an effect here. Stallions, chain mail and flap skirts certainly had their time and their significance. But both remained necessarily limited. The runic songs of Karelia, however, have become the inalienable possession of the Finnish people through Elias Lo3 nnrot's deed. To have provided the conditions for the creation of this poetry, to have torn the Finns away from their other origins and to have brought them into the European community for the first time: this should mean no small title of fame for the Goths.

Notes

6, 2 f. According to the new translation by M. Talvio and G. Thaer. Thaer, published by the "Ahnenerbe" in conjunction with the Finnish Kalewala Society and the German Academy.

') 6, 5f.
') 3, 394.
*) 4, 353.
*) 3. 395 f.; 7, 349 f.; 15. 353 t
-J 12. 30! f.
7) K. Krohn, Kalewalastudien II. FFCommunicaU! ons No. 67, 106.
-) Fundamental J. Wiesner, Fahren und Reiten in Alteuropa und im Alten Orient
-) B. Munka3 csi, Keleti szemle 6. 198. '-) 6, 96.
") 6. 175 f.
'*) 6, 187 f.

") D. Comparetti, D. Kalewala 63) W. Steinitz, D. Parallelism in Finnish Karelian folk poetry. FFCommunications No. 115.
") 14, 21 f.
'*) H. Jacobsohn, Aryans and Ugrofins 225.
'-) Amer. Journ. Arch. 1933, 30 f.; cf. M. Rostovtzeff, Sem. Kondak, 6, 161 note 1 end; L. Morgenstern, Rev. des arts aslat 10, 201 L
") M. P. Griaznow, op. cit. O. 34 Fig. 3.
'-) M. P. Griaznov, op. cit. O. 38.
w) M. P. Griaznow, op. cit. O. 38 f.
") The High Hunt ' 216 f. Note by H.-O. v. Bockeiborg.
") D. Carouthers, Unknown Mongolin 1. 230 Tat; 234 Taf. (note by J. Wiesner).
") Forester Klose in: Wild und Hund 1942, 3991, reference by HL-O. v. Bockeiberg.
M) M. P. Griaznow, op. cit. O. 38.
") J. Wiesner. Germania 1942, 216 f.; 217 f.

") Sv. Hedin, Durch Asiens Wu3 sten 1, 164; G. Haloun, Seit wann kannte die Chinesen die Tocharer oder Indogermanen überhaupt? I, 42; J. Wiesner, l. c. O. 213; Neue Jahrb. 1942, 264; Welt als Gesch. 8, 201. Furthermore, the "deer horses" on the clasps of the Caucasian Bronze Age must be remembered, which already
F. Hancar with the succession of the ridden racing animal and horse and with Pazyryk: IPEK. 1935, 49 f.; 64. Brehms Tierleben, Sa3 ugetiere 4*, 109.
") H. Rosenfeld, Germ.-Rom. Monatsschr. 28, 245 f.; J. Wiesner.
Neue Jahrb. 1942, 266 note 46.
"-) 3. 168 f.
"| M. P. Griaznow, Wiener Pra3 hist Zeltschr. 1928. 122 f.j Amer. Joum. Arch. 1933, 32; but see B. Karlgren, Bull. Mus. Far East. Ant 1. 151 f.
M| M. P. Griaznow, Amer. Journ. Arch. 1933, 43.
*') M. P. Griaznow, op. cit. O. 45; J. Wiesner, op. cit. O. 218.
J. Wiesner, op. cit. O. 215.
") Keleti szemle 5, 326; differently H. Jacobsohn, l.c. 226 (. O. 226 (. His line of argument aims at the conclusion that the derivation from the Alanlsch ossetian is , but not compelling. By using the "Sachen" alongside the "Wo3 rtern", Munka3 csi's discovery will be .
'♦) A forthcoming paper by J. Wiesner will deal with this. B. Munka3 csi, op. cit. O. 310 f.j W. Miller, D. Sprache der Osseten 5f.; M. Vasmer, Unters, über die ältesten Wohnsitze der Slawen 1, 25 f.
") F. Altheim, D. Krise der Alten Well 1. 24 f.. 65f j 106 f. ") F. Allheim, op. O. 1, 65 f.
F. Altheim, op. cit. O. 1, 106 f.
F. Altheim, op. cit. O. 1. 24 f.
") P. Altheim, D. Soldatenkaiser 154 f.
-') W. W. Tarn, Hellenist Milit. and Naval Developments 76 t.; 156 f.
w) W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactrla and India 308 f.
"| Amm. Marc. 31. 2, 19.
CIL. 12, 1122a Z. 1-6; Dio 69. 11,2; M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11, 97.
u) B. Munka3 csi, Keleti szemle 5, 318 f.
") 12, 217; 221; cf. K. Krohn. Kalewalastudien II.
FFCommunlcatlons 67, 103 f.
4T) 12, 328; 347.

**) B. La3, Chinese Clay Figures 1, 117; 327 f.; B. Thordeman, Acta Archaeol. 4, 142; J. Wiesner, Germanien 1942, 213; N. Makarenko, Eur. Sept. Ant. 9, 140 f.; J. Alfs. Zeitschr. f. hist Waffenu. Kostu3 mkde, 7, 105; 111; E Herzfeld, Am Tor von Asien 86.
°) 12, 256 f. For the battle axe A. v. Le Coq, Bilderatlas zur Kunstund Kulturgesch. Central Asia 19.
M) J. Papay, Sanunl. ostjak. VolksdichU (3. Asiat Forsch.-Reise d. Graf E Zichy Bd.5) 61, 871 f.
") J. Papay, l. c. O. 63. 1008; see J. 64, 1187 f." 98. 543 f.
") M. Rostovizeff, Skythien u. d. Bosporus 1, 298; B. Thordeman, op. cit. O.
4, 143 f.
"-) J. Papay, op. cit. O. 61, 904 f.; 94, 295; 96, 376 f.; Altheim-Trautmann,
Germania 1941, 349 f.
A. v. Le Coq, op. O. 19 f.
M) a. 0.326; the same is true of H. Jacobsohn's objections (l.c. 229) as above.
") about the seats of the West Finns: M. Vasmer, SBAW. 1934, 351 L; 428 f.r1935, 307; J. Pokorny. Mitt Anthrop. Ges. Wien 66, 72 f.
M) F. Althelm, D. Krise der Alten Welt 1. 65 f.
w) F. Altheim, l. c. O. 1. 23 f.
• ■) F. Altheim, Weltherrsch. u. Krise 193 f.; cf. Curt Ruf. 4, 9, 3.
• -) F. Altheim, D. Krise der Alten Welt 1, 24 f.; Helios u. Heliodor v.
Emesa 33 f.
") B. Thordeman, op. cit. O. 144 f.
"') H. Jacobsohn, op. cit. O. 233; B. Munka3 csi, Keletl szemle 5, 327.

• ') J. Werner, Euras. Sept. Ant. 4, 203; 7, 50; E Chavannes, Toung Pao N. F. 6, 558 f.; 8, 195 f.; A. Wylie. Journ. Anthrop. Instit. 10, 44; M. Roslovtzeff; CAH. 11. 94.
H Appelgren-Kivalo, Ancient Altaic Art Thinkers fig. 64 f.; A. M. Tallgren, Euras. Sept. Ant. 8, 175 f.

") M. Roslovtzeff, Yale Claas. Stud. 5, 269 f.; CAH. 11, 100; differently A. M. Tallgren in B. Thordeman, Acta Arch. 4. 146 note 40.

M) H Appelgren-Kivalo, op. cit. O. Fig. 81; 312.

") M. Roslovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 229 note 101; CAH 11, 100; The Animal Style 107 note 2.

-*) Av. Le Coq, Bilderatlas z. Kunstund Kulturgesch. Central Asia Fig. 100.

') M. Roslovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, 288 f. '-) H. Jacobsohn, op. O. 231.

'*) A. V. Schmidt, Eur. Sept Ant 1, 29 f.
A. V. Schmidt, op. cit. O. 27 "Ringpanzer".

aJ H. Jacobsohn, op. cit. O. 225. "J H. Jacobsohn, op. O, 231.

") H. Jacobsohn, op. O. 226 f.
H. Jacobsohn, op. cit. O. 230 f.

T.a) Regular trade between the Baltic and the Black Sea:
A. M. Tallgren, Eur. Sept Ant. 7, 7 f.

7I) On the following H. Jacobsohn, op. cit. O. 232.

:a) H. Jacobsohn, op. O. 232 f.
8. Munka3 csi, Keleti szemle 7, 369 f.. H. Jacobsohn, op. cit. O. 232 Note 2.

") H. Jacobsohn, op. O. 232 note 2.

al) F. Altheim, op. O. 1, 94 with further details. ") H. Jacobsohn, op. O. 234 note I.

") Arntz-Zeiß, D. einheimischen RunendenkmA! ler d. Festlands 22f.j
F. Allheim, op. cit. O. 1, 95; W. Krause, Germanien 1941, 462 f.

fil| F. Altheim, D. Soldatenkaiser 79 f.

") Shetelig-Falk-Gordon, Scandinavian Archeology 201 f.

M) References in F. Altheim, Germanien 1939, 49 f.; D. Soldatenkaiser 80 f.

8:) F. Altheim, D. Soldatenkaiser 80.

ag) A. V. Schmidt, Eur. Sept Ant. 1, 26 f.

(a)'j A. V. Schmidt, op. O. 1, 19 f.
A. V. Schmidt, op. cit. O. 1, 19.

*-) A. M. Tallgren. Eur. Sept Ant 11, 125.

-") A.V. Schmidt, op. O. 1, 32 f.; L. Halphen, CAH. 12, 101 f.
A. V. Schmidt, op. cit. O. I, 36 f.

**) J. J. Mikkola, Finn.-ugrische Forsch. 15, 61 with further details.

M) J. Sellye, Les bronzes gmaillo3 es de la Pannonie Rom. (Diss. Pannon. 2. 8 f.) 32 f.

") A.V. Schmidt, op. cit. O. I, 40; cf. 43 f.

M) A. V. Schmidt, op. O. 1. 40.

-*) A. V. Schmidt, op. O. 1, 40 f.

M) A. V. Schmidt, op. O. 1, 46.

M) A.V. Schmidt, op. cit. O. 1, 47; A. M. Tallgren, l.c. O. 127.

:w) A. V. Schmidt, op. O. 1, 47.

WI) M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks 147 *t.;* Yale Class. Stud. 5, 192; 268; 298; Mon. Piot 6, 13? f.

"") M. Rostovtzeff, CAH li, 93 f.

"") F. Altheim, D. Krise der Alten Welt 1, 97.

(1M)) B. MunkAcsi, Keleti szemle 5, 326.

I0S) A. V. Schmidt, op. O. 1, 49.

:M) A. V. Schmidt, op. cit. O. 1, 49; A. M. Tallgren, Eur. Sept. Ant. 5, 100 f.

>-') A. V. Schmidt, op. O. 1, 49.

:w) F. v. Lorentz, Ro3 m. Mitt 50, 341 f. with references; see also S. Fuchs. D. Antiquity 19, 124 f.

'--) B. MunkAcsi, Keleti szemle 5, 326."-) A. V. Schmidt, op. O. 1, 47.

:M) Jord., Got. 23, 116.

1.5) J. J. Mikkola, Finn.-ugr. Forsch. 15, 62 f.

...!a) A. A. Zakharow, Eur. Sept. Ant. 5, 198; date 216.

:IS) K. Mu3 llenhoff in the index of Th. Mommsen'edition of Jordanes.

(I,<)) H. Jacobsohn, op. O. 245 f.; A. Pogodin, Mo3 m. soc. finno-ougr. 67, 326 f.. M. Vasmer, SBAW. 1935, 507 f.. 579 f.; J. J. Mikkola, op. O. 60; 62.

*") H. Jacobsohn, op. cit. O. 19.

"-) F. Althelm, D. Krise der Alten Welt 1,95 f.; Rhein. Mus. 90, 205 f.
F. Altheim, Germania 1939, 49 L; D. Soldatenkaiser 80.

'16) 31, 5, 17.

"-) An attempt by J.J. Mikkola, op. cit. O. 61.
'") F. Altheim, D. Krise der Alten Welt 1, 106 f.
[1SI]) Amm. Marc. 31, 7, 17; L. Schmidt, D. Ostgermanen 2, 258.
H. Jacobsohn, op. cit. The Finns themselves did not know such things: D. Comparetti, D. Kalewala 21.
[m]) B. MunkAcsi, Keleti szemle 5, 326; E. N. SetAla3 , Journ. de la socio3 to3 flnno-ougrienne 17. 4, 33; H. Jacobsohn, l. cit. O. 228 note3.
"*) W. Miller, D. Sprache d. Osseten 15 § 3, 5.
B. MunkAcsi, op. cit. O. 5, 315; cf. 13, 350 f.; H. Jacobsohn, l. c. O. 228.
'") Germania 1942, 277 f.; D. Crisis of the Ancient World 1, 98 f.
[m]) Diptych of Orestes (N 32) with portrait shields of Athalarich and Amalasunta from the year 530: R. Delbrueck, Consulardiptychen 148 f.; Pl. 32; since Theodahad: W. Wroth, Coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths, Lombards Taf. 9f.; F. J. Kraus, D. Mu3 nzen Odovacars und d. Ostgotenreichs in Italien (Mu3 nzstudien, her. v. M. v. Bahrfeldt und H. Buchenau 5) Taf. 9, 29 f.

"-) I am indebted to R. Deibrueek for the complete communication of the pictorial material. I am also indebted to him for the assessment and derivation of the ornament. Further help by J. Kollwitz with unfailing helpfulness.
[1W]) A rich collection of examples in N. Bo3 laev, Recueil Kondakoff 201 f.
[1M]| Mithras on the monument to Antiochos I of Commagene on the Nemrud Dagh: F. Sarre, Die Kunst des alten Persien 56; Excavations at Dura-Europos 1930/1, Pl. 18, 1-2; 19. 1; 20, 2;
1933/4-1934/5, Pl. 13, 3-4; 14, 1; 15-17; F. Cumont, Les
fouilles de Doura-Europos Pl. 98, 1-2.
"*) G. Mendel, Mus£e Ottoman, Catal. des sculpt. 2, 398 ill,
'") M. Rostovtzeff, Yale Class. Stud. 5, figs. 51; 51a; 57; also p. 251.
[.M]) M. Rostovtzeff, op. O. 190 f.; fig. 31.
Cf. Excavat at Dura-Europos 1932/33, Pl. 42, 1 (ReiterHgur right).
'") A. v. Le Coq, Bilderatlas zur Kunstund Kulturgesch. Mittelasiens 39 Fig. 8 left.
[.M]) R. Deibrueek, op. cit. O. 149.
[U5]) A. v. Le Coq. l.c. 40 f.; fig. 9 and 11.
*") J. Strzygowski, Altai. Iran und Vo3 lkerwanderung 262 Fig. 208. Not a "musician", but a sword , cf. Herzfeld, At the Gate of Asia 68.
**) J. Strzygowski, op. cit. O. 263; Orient Lit-Ztg. 7, 50; G. Vambery, Gesch.
Bukharas 16.
"*) E Herzfeld, op. cit. O. 81 f.
[Ml]) Amelung, RE. 3, 2207; also F. Hauser, Ostern Jahresh. 6, 88 Anm.
11.
[1-S]) Hesych. s. v. xdvo3 u.
[l4a]) Xenoph., Hell, 2, 1, 8; Kyrup. 8, 3, 10.
[(u) *]) Pollux 1, 58; Xenoph., Kyrup. 1, 3, 2; 8, 3, 13.
[.u]) Procopius, b. Goth. 1, 29, 5; 2, 30, 17 etc; cf. 4, 31, 18.
'"-) Pollux 7. 70.
[U7]) Amelung, op. cit. O. 2208.
J. Kollwitz, Ostro3 m. Sculpture of the Theodos. Zeit 26 note 1; G. Bruns, Der Obelisk auf dem Hippodrom 40 f., special note 20; fig. 43; R. Deibrueek, op. cit. O. Pl. 69.
"-) E. H. Minna, Scythians and Greeks 197 Fig. 90 center. '") E. H. Minns, op. cit. O. 200 fig. 93; 201 fig. 94.

'") F. Sarre, Die Kunst des alten Persien fig. 66, 2; 3" 16; 18.
***) M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 190; Fig. 31 top center.
*") Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, Les peintures de la synagogue de Doura-Europos 5 f.; 9f.
Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, op. O. 105 f.j Pl. 45, 1
'") Comtedu Mesnil du Buisson, op. op. 103 f.; Pl. 45, l. Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, op. op. 117; Pl. 51, 1; 52, 1.
[I1T]| Comtedu Mesnil du Buisson, op. O. 119; Pl. 52, 2. [lM]) Comtedu Mesnil du Buisson, a. O. 122; Pl. 53, 1. [lw]) Comtedu Mesnil du Buisson, op. O, 117, fig. 84.
*") A. Alfo3 ldi, Acta Archaeol. 5, 110.
*-') F. Sarre, l.c. O. 66, 3; 12; 14; A. Alfo3 ldi, op. O. 103 fig. 4b; W. Wroth, Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia pl. 8, l-9; 21, 2; 24, 5 -7; 26, 3-4; 8-15; 29, 15-18; 33, 1-4; 34. 1-7; 35, 14-
15; 36, 1-4; 7-15; M. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos and its Art
231.
[1M]) W. Arendt, Zeitschr. f. hist Waffen- und Kostu3 mkunde N.F. 5, 27 figs. 1-2.
[.M]) M. Ebert, Prahlst Zeitschr. 1, 163 f.j W. Arendt, op. O. 26 Taf. 4.
[.M]) See W. Arendt, op. cit. O. 28 Fig. 3; R. Delbrueck, Antike Porphyrwerke 218; Pl. 103 - The occurrence of the clasp helmet among the seems to rule out the possibility that the reliefs of the tropaeum of Adamclisi belong to the Trajanic period. As the dedicatory inscription shows, the original building is Trajanic; some of the decorative friezes are also Trajanic. But the rest, like the reliefs, must back to a later restoration. The monument, like the city of Tropaeum itself, will have suffered greatly in the 3rd century . It was then, again like the city, extensively restored under Licinlus in 316. Older reliefs that had been damaged may have been used as models. The bound Bastame appears to be the realization of a relief in the style of the Hadrianeum (E. Strong, Scultura Romana 2, 237 f.; J. M. C. Toynbee, The Hadrlanic School Taf. 34

f.) in the style of the Constantinian period. The tropaeum produced was apastiche of older and contemporaneous works such as the Arch of Constantine, which to the same years.

*") Procopius, b. Goth. 4, 32, 18.

,M) Theoph. z.J. 544; pag. 228 De Boor. On the *kamelauklon* M. BAra3 ny- Oberschall, Arch. Hung. 22, 83.

Ii7) Procopius, l.c. 18.

1M) W. Wrolh, Coins of the Vandals etc. Pl. 11, 29; 30 (?)" F. J. Kraus,
a. O. Pl. 13, 62-63 RV. The coincidence is all the more remarkable as both Prokop. b, Goth. 4, 32, 18, as well as on the coins, is Totila.
Dio 68, 9, 1; Dio Chrysost. 72, 3; Jord., Get 5, 40; 11. 71" C. Daicoviciu, Le probla3 me de la contlnuitd en Dacie 14 f." A. Alfo3 ldi, CAH. 11, 89; W. Weber, Aus Ruma3 niens Fru3 hzeit 129.

no) C Daicoviciu, op. O. 12 note 1.

,n) Jord., Get. 11, 71. On the question K. Helm, Altgerm. Rellgionagesch. 2, 1,
49.

,n) Poll. 7, 58. Likewise the Palmyrenes, where even the pffos is found with a border: M. Roslovtzeff, Caravan Cities Pl. 23, I.

'") Suid. 4, 131, 1 adi.; further in Netoliczka, RE. 11, 379.
Netoliczka, op. cit. O. 379.

*n) On the following F. Cumont, Fouillea de Doura-Europos 267 f." Pl. 99, 2; M. Roslovtzeff, op. O. 193 fig. 1; 196.

IT-) F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 66, 9.
Jord., Get. 11, 71 *lyaria, quos piUeos alio nomine nuncupamua.*

*") E. Herzfeld. Archeol. History of Iran 80 fig. 10; cf. also H. P. L'Orange, Serta Eitremiana 82, especially note 4.

"-) F. Hackin, L'oeuvre de la do3 ldgation franq. en Afghanistan fig.
39 B; 55 B; one *piloa* Fig. 38.
M. Rostovtzeff, Dura-Europos and its Art Pl. 14, 1. '-*) N. P. Toll, Recueil Kondakoff 93 f.
F. Sarre, op. cit. O. 57; M. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. O. 231" 241; H. P. L'Orange,
a. O. 84.

,M) 3on the "tA! og dtmpwTO! g M. Rostovtzeff, Journ. Hell. Stud. 39, 89 f.; Yale Class. Stud. 5, 231; 241.

,M) G. F. Hill. Catal. of Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia Taf. 13-14; 16-17 (Edessa); 34-37 (Persis); 41; 43
(Elymais); 47 (sub-Characenian). On the sub-Characenian coins and their probable affiliation to Spasinu Charax H. Seyrig, Syria 22. 253 f.

'") R. Delbrueck. Consular diptychs 149.

**) S. Fuchs, Die Frau. Supplement to the Frankf. Ztg. 31.8.42, p. 1.
VgLAnm. 165-166.

"*) R. Delbrueck. op. cit. 149.

,w) Qussejr Amra. ed. by the Emperor). Academy of Sciences Witn 1
-2; Ede Lorey, Ars Islamica l. 34; on the present state of the fresco Jaussen-Savignac, Mission archo3 ol. en Arabie 3, 89; on the inscriptions 97 f.

-*) E. v. Sacken. Jahrb. d. kunsthist Samml. d. Allerho3 chsten Kaiserhaus 2, 33 f.

,M) The following is based on a conjecture by F. Neumann-Go3 ttingen.

"-') On this E. Wolff. Hermes 69. 153 f.
M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. 11. 97; Sceptre In the hand of Ahasuerus in the synagogue of Dura-Europos: Comte du Mesnil du Buisson.
l.c. 119.

,M) Epit de Caes. 47. 5.

,M) A. v. Le Coq, op. O. Fig. 1-31.

,M) A. v. Le Coq, op. O. to fig. 8; In the footsteps of Hellas in East Turkestan 119.
A. v. Le Coq. Picture atlas to fig. 28. "-) A. v. Le Coq. l.c. 10.

"*) A. v. Le Coq. l.c. Fig. 34; 36.

m) Rev. des arts asiat. 12, 10; Pl. 7. 23; 8, 25. 'C-J A. v. Le Coq. l.c. to fig. 8.

'"-) The Parthian bronze statue of Shaml In die Suslana offers a , but in section completely identical form: A. Stein, Georgr. Joura. 92 (1938), 324; H. Seyrlg. Syria20,177L;
Plate 25 right.

""1 Du Mesnil du Bulsson, op. cit. O. Pl. 52. 2; 53, 1.

m) H. W. Bailey. Bull. School Orient Stud. 8. 885 f.; G. Haloun. ZDMG. 91, 243 f.

m) J. Wiesner, Altpreufien 1942, Heft 3; cf. W. La Baume. Blfitter f. deutsche Vorgesch. 5, 1 f.
C. Schuchhardt, Alteuropa - 336 Fig. 215; W. La Baume, a. 0.9.

"-') W. La Baume, op. O. 7.

*-) J. Wiesner, a. O.

*") A. A. Zakharov, Euras. Sept. Ant 9, 336 f.; W. La Baume, a. O. 6; H. Vambery, D. Tu3 rkenvolk 26 f.j P. S. Pallas, Reise d. verseh. Provinzen d. Russ. Reiches 1 (1771), 221 L; H. Appelgren-Kivalo.
a. O. Fig. 124; 130-131; 141; 144-145; 151-154; 156 to
157; 159 f.; D. Carouthers, Unknown Mongolin 1, 48 f.j Further literature in J. Wiesner, op. cit. O.

(,0) J. Wiesner, a. O.

'") A. A. Zakharov, op. cit. O. 342 fig. 4; cf. D. Carouthers, l.c. O. 1, 60 Pl.
·,^) J. Wiesner, a. O. Fig. 2-4.
-") J. Wiesner, a. O.
·M) Av. Le Coq's (1917 and 1922); cf. Auf Hellas' Spuren in Ostturkestan 75; F. Bergman, Arch. Researches in Sinkiang (The Sino-Swedish Exped. 7, t) 56 Fig. 7.
-B) A. v. Le Coq, op. O. Fig. 28.
·w) A. v. Le Coq, op. O. 10.
Mt) A. v. Le Coq. l.c. Fig. 35.
·18) Comte du Mesnil du Buisson, a. O. 29; 44; 52; 57; 77; 81; 98101; 107.
-*-> Suomen suku, ed. by A. Kannisto, E. N. SetA! la, U. T. Sirelius, Y. Wichmann. Vol. 3 (Helsinki 1934), 342 ill. below.
"-) Suomen suku 3, 322 fig.
"') A. v. Le Coq, op. O. Fig. 1; cf. fig. 5.
*") Suomen suku 3, 356 fig. below; A. O. Heikel, Soc. Finno-Ougrienne, travaux ethnogr. 4, 21; J. Wichmann, ibid. 5, 15 L; 19 f. Pl. 2, 12; 15-16.
(Ks) ^) F. Bergman, Archeol. Researches in Sinkiang (The Sino-Swedish Exped. 7, l) 55 Fig. 6.
(,) *3) Suomen suku 3, 360 fig. top and center; A. O. Heikel, a. O. Part 2, 1; Pl. 10. 4-6; J. Wichmann, op. O. Pl. 3, 1; 6.
"-) J. Hackin, Rev. des arts asiat. 12, Pl. 7, 23.
·ts) Suomen suku 3, 361 below.
M#) Suomen suku 3, 362 Fig. above.
"') Suomen suku 3, 356 fig. top; 357 fig.; 358 fig., 360 fig. bottom; 361 fig. top and center.
"") D. Kalewala 57.
m) K. Krohn, Kalewalia Studies I. FFCommunlcations 53, 114 f.
"") K. Krohn, op. cit. O. 131.
"*) K. Krohn, op. cit. O. 125 f.
") K. Krohn. Finno-Ugr. Forsch. 4, 79 f.
*") D. Comparetti, op. cit. O. 255 f.
M<) K. Krohn, Mag. Origin runes of the Finns. FFCommunications 51
m) GeL 24. 12! f.
***) H. Wesche, D. althochdeutsche Wortschatz im Gebiet de" Zaubers und der Weissagung (Halle 1940) 49 f.; K, Helm, Altgerm. Religionsgesch. 2, 1, 22 f.; 26 note 1; S. Gutenbrunner. Vienna. Praehist. Zeitschr. 28, 203; H. Amte, Handb. d. Runenkde. ' 181 f.
o3r) About this lastly H. Jacobsohn, l. c. O. 7 f.
D. Comparetti, op. cit. O. 244 f.; T. E. Karsten, D. alt. nord., u. germ. Vo3 lkerbez. of Finland. From: Bidrag till ka3 nnedom af Finlands natur och folk 88 No. 1.
"-) D. Comparetti. l. c. 24! f.
*") D. Comparetti, op. cit. O. 240 f.
·,Oa) T. E. Karsten, Fragen aus dem Gebiet d. germ.-finn. Beru3 hrungen (Dversikt av Finska vetenskaps-soc. fo3 rhandl. 64 Afd. B. Nr. 3) 4f.; Z. Anfangstermin d. germ.-finn. Beru3 hrungen (Soc. seient. Fenn., Comm. hum. litt 1, 2).
·M) D. Comparetti, op. O. 268 f.. K. Krohn, Kalewalastudien L FFCommunications No. 53, 125 f.

N o t e to p. 33 f.

On the question of German. -Finnish runo, J. Weisweiler points out to me in addition that V. Thomsen, U! ber den Einfluß der germanischen Sprachen auf die finnisch-lappischen p. 53, brings together Finnish *runo, rikas* with anord. *run, r(kr*, but gives seven examples of the preservation of German. u as uu in Finnish beforehand p. 51. He also nine cases for the preservation of *f* as *H*, so that runo and *rikas* are quite isolated. Weisweiler writes wo3 rtlich: "In Finnish, *rikaB* "rich" exists side by side: urgerman. -rzk/az, goL -reike/s, anord. *r(kr* "ma3 chtig, respected" - and *riiki "realm":* urgerm. **rikjam,* got. *rciki*, anord. *riki* "rule. Authority. Empire". Of the two words, the one with the regular phonetic form *fil)* is the more ancient; ea is no longer in modern vocabulary. An explanation

for the deviation of the other has not yet been found, which does not mean that it could not be found (perhaps analogy to some meaning-related Germanic or Finnish word?). In languages such as Germanic and Finnish, whose phonological system is largely based on the length or shortness of the vowels (in contrast to Italian, Spanish, Modern Greek, etc.), deviations from this norm must be specially explained."

TM~= "IS

Fig. 2. rock drawing of TaschobÄ, Mlnu "5ln "kcr Dütrikt. Still Euro". Sept. Ant. 8. 184 Fig. 12c.

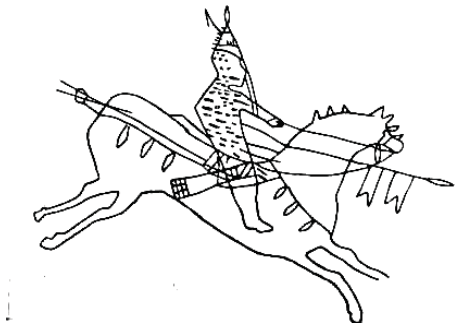


Fig. 3: Fels drawing of Mount Sulek near Minussinsk.
After Eures. Sept. Ant. 0. 184 Fig. 12b.

Fig. 4. ihmidei i" Ji der ɹKIBI* (;<il<lnicd "illun vmi S"-mi|nliin Nach
<ilp "*Abcjuß.

Fig. 5 Theodtahad and AOMhuunÜM. Diptych of Oreste" from the year 530, upper part of the reverse. London. Vicloria and Albert Museum. After R Delbruedc, Consular Diptychs Tal. 32.

A<>1> <i Th"'><d>ih>ui he: Im. Miiii/knliin "*ti. W Wmih, ("us nf UhV<tn "I<th,
< Isttoijolhs .nul],oinl>.ir<K ?h No. 21 -\ulri X liii-hcf be-l Im korl.

Fig 7 Toltlu. Berlin. Munzk.ibinelt, W. Wrotte. <i. O. 'M No. 47 Onn. Ahnenorbt*<lRickert

Fig. K DuSpi'cispifce of Kowel. Ahnciicrbu. Bcriin-lhihlem Aufn. Ahnenrrrbe-Huckeit

Fig. B. SchwerUraycr. Alnisipb near Bonn.i, and Migration of peoples

After J. Strzyyowski, Altai, Iran Fig. 2DB

Fig. 10: Iianisi ruler, sgraffito from Durfl-Europo°. After F. Cumont, Fouilles dr Doura-Europs Pl. 99, 2.

Fig. 1t. The Sasanidc Shapur, Ardeshir's brother (. Sgraffito from Perscpolls. After E. I lerzfclrl, Archeol. Hislory of Iran 60 Fig. 10.

Fig. 12 "SasanidiMh-ügypti.tht", fabric * "Ahlino". After N. P. Toll, Recuell Kond.ikofl 94 A.ib, 3.

Alih. II .,your enemies ls1.mii fresco from Ku "ejr Amru. [The two I uiur
from link* is according to Awswri* of the inscription di-t Wc "t<]"itcnkon:i) Rodernh l According to Ar" Isldmicd l, 17 Fig 16

Fig. 14 Korne" Alun" hs I. or 11 Vienna. Coin Cabinet. According to Jahrb. d. Kunsl- bisloi. S.irnml. d. Allerh. Kaiserhaus *3,* 33 plate 1.

Fig. 15 Sasanian silver bowl. After A. v. Le Coq, Bilderalias z. Kunst-u. Kulturgesrh. Central Asia" Fig. 34.

Fig Ui. rhroiivtuli'i M<ig>vr. Fresku "ius dem Milbiuui" v "m ijuːi-Eur "pos. Ndih Exfiiviti. al Ijur "i-Euni[His I*J'J3/3.*i, Tulrl 16, I

Fig. 17. from ,\il" nk;i. J".-n .>"1 Ruijcn. \«h c S> buchhudt.
Alu-ud>p.i (i'tfsi :nn Fig. jtu.

Fig. >8 fli.lik* ilrr ii. shwi-Hlimj-". hv/.| Na-.h A. v LiCuq. .1. O. Al.b. H.

Fig. 19 Mill no. 19 Kumlura. Still A. v. Le Coq, I. O. Fig. 9.

•\hl>. Ambo from Salonica. Stumbul, Museum Auln. .1 Rollwitz.

Abi". 21 Sum-HiMhvt

Il "im l:<i|<iasx<iiili- Auln. At<h>i "il Hri< JiMiiMi'iit. H'ira

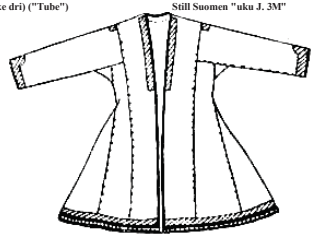
Fig. 22 "Krieijer-Froak". Fortcluklslan, Alghonistan. According to Ki-vu"> des arls asial. 12, Tülel 7, 23.

Fig. 23 Seated prince. Fondukistun, Alyhaniktan. Kabul, Museum.

After Revue des arts asiat. 12, Tale! 0, 25.

(Md. Rocke dri) ("Tube")

Still Suomen "uku J. 3M"



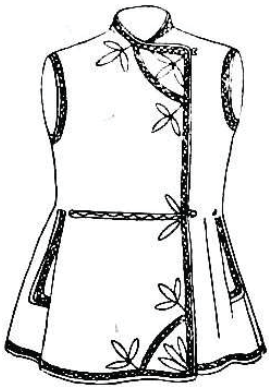


Fig. 25. jerk ili'r Tschwcniiwn. Nmh Suomen suku 3. 356. fig. 26. *zileika* ".er Mordwinen Nach Suonicn suku 3, 361.

Fig. 27 Hipp..k.nnpenh "ihlf. Kyzil. N.uh A v. Lr Coq. a. O. Fig l

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Fig. 3 Rock drawing of Mount Sulck near Minussinsk. After Euras.

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